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Facts about race and the schools in Portland, Oregon, are presented. Questions were asked of white and Negro residents.

Answers given by Negroes indicate that the Negro feels that he is equal to the white, that he should live in integrated rather than segregated neighborhoods, and that Negro children should attend predominantly white schools. Slightly more than one-half of the Negroes earned less than $4,000 per year and only 10% attended college. Negro involvement in school affairs compared favorably with that of white citizens; however, the Negro feels he would like to be more influential.

Answers given by whites indicated that 72% regard Negroes as equal to white in intelligence, but only 50% want integrated housing. As age increased, white citizen prejudice toward Negroes steadily increased. White citizens with preschool-age children were the least prejudiced, and those with children in all-white schools were the most prejudiced.

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SCHOOL AND RACE IN PORTLAND

Robert E. Agger and
Clyde De Berry

The senior author, professor of political science at the University of Oregon, is also the senior author of *The Rulers and the Ruled. Political Power and Impotence in American Communities* (Wiley, 1964). The junior author is a doctoral candidate in the department of education, University of Oregon. Pages 11-26 are the text of a paper written privately for the Community on Race and Education, Portland, Oregon Board of Education; it is published here with the permission of the author and the committee. Pages 26-27 report on a restudy conducted by the authors one and a half years after the first study.

This report represents an analysis of data collected in two sample surveys conducted simultaneously in May, 1963. One sample survey contains 320 white citizen respondents, selected in a three-stage random sample, representing the adult residents of the Portland School District. The second survey includes 62 Negro citizen respondents selected from six contiguous census tracts in and around the area known as the Albina district. In those tracts lived 9,798 Negroes according to the US Census reports for 1960. In addition, the sample includes 20 Negro respondents interviewed because they were drawn in the random sample of 340 citizens so that when added to the Negro sample the total number of respondents became 82 whereas the white sample was reduced in size to the aforementioned 320 respondents. Because of the living patterns in Portland, most of the 20 Negro respondents drawn in the larger random sample survey reside in the aforementioned predominantly Negro census tracts or in tracts adjacent to them.

This report contains sections on the Negro citizen: what he thinks and wants; the white citizens: what they think and want; and the relationship of selected factors, including residential location, to white attitudes on race relations. When the analysis is restricted by the relatively small numbers of respondents in an area of significance or when the data are suggestive of interesting patterns, suggestions are made that such matters might fruitfully be pursued in future, large-scale studies. We might note at the outset, as the following section indicates, that we have used the singular for Negro attitudes and the plural for white attitudes in the section titles because of the rather clear consensus on the part of the Negro respondents on certain race relations matters, which is unlikely to change significantly with larger numbers of Negro respondents.

THE NEGRO CITIZEN

Are Negro citizens of Portland prejudiced towards white citizens? Do Negroes feel a sense of inferiority, superiority, or equality in regard to whites?

The questions used to measure prejudice are these: So far as intelligence (repeat for morality) is concerned, would you say that, compared to whites, Negroes are by nature: 0) Superior to whites 1) The same as whites 2) Inferior to whites.

Our findings clearly indicate that there is an overwhelming sense of equality with whites on the part of Negroes. There is a small proportion of Negroes who seem to have developed a sense of biological inferiority, of being born to a racial group that is by nature not only lacking the native-born intelligence of whites but also the latter's morality. A somewhat higher, but still small proportion of Negroes take a posture of superiority to whites, a finding that is not peculiar to Portland alone. Other studies have also

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> The neighborhood is a place where children meet and influence each other and where the residents have a feeling of belonging. But often the big city is merely the aggregate of heterogeneous clusters of hovels, plus shops, factories, streets, and public services.
>
> Charles Abrams, 1964

indicated that one of the reaction patterns of some frustrated and angry Negroes is to at least respond in such a manner when asked, and the existence of the Black Muslim movement is evidence that such sentiments can become more than a posture or a defensive perspective. A very small proportion of Negroes in the sample, by finding the question difficult to answer, indicates the existence of some confusion about their identity and worth (which proportion might actually be larger if those who responded by saying "equal to whites" on these items had been asked more probing questions). In any event, as we shall see, the general sense of equality that Negroes have vis-a-vis whites is not shared by a substantial proportion of Portland's white citizens.

Do Negroes feel that members of their race ought to live by themselves, or in mixed Negro-white neighborhoods, thereby having Negro children go to school in more integrated neighborhoods?

The question was worded: Do you think that Negroes in the city of Portland ought to live by themselves, or do you think that Negroes ought to live in mixed Negro-white neighborhoods and have their children go to school in more mixed Negro-white schools?

An overwhelming proportion of the Negro respondents (91 per cent) feel that Negroes ought to live in integrated rather than segregated neighborhoods (This compares with the Newsweek — Lou Harris poll findings on Negroes living outside the South for a comparable question that directly asked "would you rather live in a neighborhood with Negroes, or in a neighborhood that had both whites and Negroes — if you could find the housing you want and like" to the effect that 75 per cent preferred the mixed neighborhood). The vast majority of Negro citizens in this Portland sample prefer the principle, at least, of non-segregation in neighborhood living patterns.

Do Negroes feel that it would be better for Negro children to go to schools that have more white pupils?

The question was worded: Because Negroes in Portland live in a very few areas, Negro children tend to go to grade schools that have mostly Negro pupils. Some people have said that it would be better for Negro children to go to schools that have more white pupils. Do you agree or disagree?

Almost 18 out of every 20 Negroes in the sample felt that Negro children should go to schools that have more white pupils. This feeling is shared by Negroes of every educational level. Thus, the Negro citizens think amazingly alike not only on the matters of segregation in housing (neighborhoods) but also on the matter of de facto segregation which was the subject of this question.

Do Negroes want to reduce de facto school segregation in Portland through a policy of transporting some children by bus to schools outside of their neighborhoods?

The question was worded: How much would you approve or disapprove a policy of transporting some children by bus to schools that may not be the closest ones to their homes in order to reduce the number of almost all Negro grade schools in Portland? 1) Strongly approve such a policy 2) Approve such a policy 3) Disapprove such a policy 4) Strongly disapprove of such a policy.

Even without being specific as to whether Negro, white or both sets of children might be bused, almost three-quarters of the Negro respondents (73 per cent) approved such a policy, two-fifths "strongly." This general disposition to approve such a

policy is not shared by one-quarter of the Negro respondents, but only one out of twenty Negroes "strongly disapprove" such a policy. One out of six Negro respondents simply disapprove while one out of twenty-five are uncertain. It is apparent that any such policy to effect de facto desegregation would be met with widespread approval in the Negro subcommunity on the basis of the predispositions tapped by this question.

What are the Negroes in this sample like in regard to a variety of characteristics?

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO CITIZEN SAMPLE

Slightly more than one-third of the Negro sample was under 35 years of age, 60 per cent between 35 and 64 years, and 5 per cent over 65. Almost half made less than $4,000 per year (compared to slightly more than one-quarter of the white sample), one-third made between $4,000 to $6,000 per year, and 4 per cent made more than $10,000 (compared to 14 per cent of the white sample). Only 10 per cent had any college at all (2 per cent having actually graduated with a college degree), while almost one third had eight or less grades of formal schooling. Their occupation structure looks like this. 57 per cent of the entire sample was female and 45 per cent of those women worked, those having blue collar jobs outnumbering those with white collar jobs by a 6:1 ratio. Among the men, 89 per cent had blue collar jobs, none had white collar jobs, while the remaining 11 percent had business or professional positions. Taking men and women together, we find that 5 per cent were business or professional men, 4 per cent had white collar positions, 60 per cent worked at blue collar jobs, while 32 per cent were housewives. Thirty-eight per cent of these housewives were themselves heads of the household without husbands or jobs. These and other kinds of descriptive data are available on the Negro subcommunity of Portland in the Census reports, but it is worth noting what the characteristics of our Negro sample were like.

Ten per cent of the Negro sample had been laid off at the time they were interviewed, five times that proportion of white citizens in our sample in a similar situation. Although only 10 per cent of the Negro respondents owned their own homes, compared to one third of the white respondents, half of them were in the process of paying off a mortgage. Slightly more than half of the Negro respondents had children in public school, while an additional 13 per cent had pre-school age children. That they were interested in the de facto school segregation question is evidenced by the response of 43 per cent of them to the effect that they had talked with friends and acquaintances about the matter of a possible change in school policy to eliminate it. One per cent had taken a more active part in the matter. This compares to 23 and 1 per cent, respectively, of the white citizens who reported comparable degrees of participation. Nine per cent of the Negro sample reported belonging to the NAACP, while 4 per cent reported being a member of the Urban League.

Their involvement in school affairs compares favorably with that of white citizens, which is an exceptional pattern, given the educational, income and other differentials between Negroes and whites. They report a rate of discussion of public school matters with family, friends, teachers, and school officials equal or somewhat higher than the rate of such discussion by white citizens. This is the case even though one-third of the Negro sample admits to being not registered to vote compared to one-fifth of the white sample.

> Outside of predominantly Negro colleges, only 69 Negroes are enrolled in the law schools of the country.
>
> S. M. Nabrit and George L. Allen, 1964

The interest of Portland Negroes in education was not anticipated. A variety of items attest to the fact that the Negro stress on education is not that of a spectator but of someone who is personally more involved. For example, in response to questions as to whether the public schools ought to increase their programs of preparing children to get along with others, and vocational training for children not going on to college, 96 and 90 per cent of the Negro respondents approve each increase, respectively (compared to 83 and 84 per cent of the much more highly educated white respondents, respectively). After being asked about their attitudes towards fifteen programs of innovations in, or greater use of, local public school programs, both Negro and white respondents were asked whether they would be willing to see the local school district spend more money that at present to carry out those programs they saw as most important. Sixty-eight per cent of the Negro, and 56 per cent of the white, respondents answered affirmatively. Although their respective economic situations were very different, a slightly greater proportion of Negro than white respondents with pre-school or school age children thought "realistically" that at least one of their children would go on to college (although a somewhat smaller proportion of Negro than white parents thought that all of their children would go on to college).

Although a slightly smaller proportion of Negroes than whites felt that school officials would understand their problems and do what they could about them (46 to 56 per cent, respectively) rather than try to "pass the buck" or ignore them, Negroes —much more than whites—would like to have more influence in school affairs than they feel they have currently. Three out of every five Negroes feel that way, compared to one out of five whites.

> Jim Crow symbolizing what it does in our culture, to require a Negro child to attend . . . [an all-Negro] school would be comparable to requiring a Jewish child to attend a school with a swastika over the door.
>
> Dan W. Dodson, March 21, 1964

In summary, the Negroes in our sample as in the Portland School District generally are a disadvantaged group economically and educationally compared to the relatively affluent white citizens in the community. Yet, it is clear that the local public schools have captured the interest and concern of the Negro citizen; he is involved in a manner unexpected of, and unusual for, comparably disadvantaged Negro citizens of other cities. His interest includes, but extends beyond, the de facto segregation situation. He values education, particularly for his children, in a way that other minority groups have in the past, and which, some white citizens assert or imply, the Negro in the United States does not. He does in Portland, in any event. His expectations are not only optimistic or hopeful in regard to his children's future education; they are so much so that for the most part he is bound to be frustrated—given what projections can be made from current trends. It is not risky to predict, on the basis of these and unreported data, that the Portland Negro's concern about, and active participation in, public school affairs is likely to increase rather than decrease in the future, and that the defacto segregation policy matter may provide a focus, partly for its intrinsic significance and partly for its symbolic meanings, for even more active demonstration of that concern in the future.

THE WHITE CITIZEN

Are the white citizens of Portland prejudiced towards Negro citizens? Do whites feel that Negroes ought to live in segregated or integrated neighborhoods?

A substantial majority (72 per cent) of white citizens regard Negroes as by nature equal to whites in intelli-

gence, although one-quarter regard Negroes as having inferior native intelligence. A bare majority (54 per cent) of the white citizens regard Negroes as by nature equal to whites in morality. Forty-one per cent of the whites regard Negroes as natively inferior in this regard. (Portland's white citizens attitudes in regard to Negro native intelligence are better than those of the nation's white citizens. Fifty per cent of the latter believe that Negroes have less native intelligence than whites—compared to the 24 per cent figure in Portland, but the national figure actually includes a more prejudiced set of white southerners. See the Newsweek—Lou Harris poll.)

Whites are divided evenly on the matter of segregating Negroes residentially: 45 per cent are in favor of segregated living patterns, 45 per cent are in favor of mixing neighbor hoods, and 10 per cent are uncertain or say that they think it ought to be up to Negroes to decide themselves. (Portland whites may be quite close to the northern white attitude in general in this regard: 42 per cent of the nation's whites say that integrated neighborhoods are desirable—which figure, however, includes respondents from the South as well. Newsweek—Harris poll.) It should be noted, furthermore, that the question was asked in general and not in terms of what the respondents felt about having Negroes living in their own neighborhood, in the same block, or next door. (This is an area that needs further exploration and intensive measurement). The findings indicate that if the two items on native intelligence and morality are regarded as indicators of prejudice (in the dictionary sense of prejudging a person on the basis of characteristics attributed to a larger category of which he is a member), 54 per cent of the white citizens are not prejudiced in either regard, 24 per cent are prejudiced on one of the two items (usually morality), while only 22 per cent are prejudiced on both items. Tolerance - intolerance

> For too long we have failed to recognize, and act on our recognition, that "separate but equal" is not freedom and is not equality—in the South, in the North, or anywhere else.
>
> Francis Keppel,
> December 10, 1964

might be the terms applied to white sentiments towards Negroes in segregated or integrated neighborhoods. Looking at the pattern of prejudice and intolerance in the white subcommunity of Portland, we find—using the same data—that the unprejudiced and tolerant people constitute 28 per cent of the total sample; the unprejudiced but intolerant constitute 20 per cent of the sample; the somewhat prejudiced (on one item—usually morality) but still tolerant constitute 10 per cent; the somewhat prejudiced but intolerant constitute 12 per cent; the prejudiced and intolerant 13 per cent; and the prejudiced but tolerant constitute 7 per cent.

That there is a direct relationship between prejudice and intolerance is clear. On the other hand it is also clear that the absence of prejudice is far from a guarantee of tolerance, just as the presence of at least some prejudice does not automatically lead to intolerance, at least of this verbally reported attitudinal character. The fact that 17 per cent of the white population, although believing Negroes to be inferior on intelligence and/or morality, still approve of an integrated city is indicative of the possibilities of pursuing policies of toleration and accommodation without having to change every prejudiced person's basic beliefs. At the same time the balance in white citizen segregation-integration sentiments gives pause to any notion that substantial changes can be made without finding extensive disagreement and resistance.

Turning now to white citizen attitudes towards race-related school policies, we may ask the same questions as we asked about our Negro respondents:

Do whites feel that it would be better for Negro children to go to schools that have more white pupils? Do whites approve or disapprove of a policy of transporting some children by bus to schools outside of their neighborhoods as a way of reducing de facto segregation?

White citizen approval of mixed neighborhoods is substantially more than the support they give to more integration in the public schools. Half of the white respondents (49 per cent) actually disagree that there should be more school integration, while 31 per cent agree, and 19 per cent are uncertain. Support for a busing policy falls off even more sharply among whites: one-fifth approve (only 2 per cent "strongly" compared to 41 per cent strongly approving among Negro respondents), 74 per cent disapprove, while only 7 per cent do not have a definite opinion.

It is well known that people with mild attitudes are unstable attitudinally in regard to a variety of policy matters at the local community as well as at the national level. To the extent that any kind of busing policy or its equivalent is considered in attempting to alleviate the school de facto segregation situation, one of the more urgent tasks revealed by these findings would be an increase in the number of strong supporters of such a policy among the white citizens. The strong opponents outnumber the strong supporters of this ambiguously worded busing policy by a ratio of 17:1, and it is those who feel strongly that are frequently the most relevant in determining shifts in, or the maintenance of, attitudes of the majority of citizens.

Is there any relationship between prejudiced views of the Negro, and white citizen attitudes towards a) more Negro children in school with white children or b) towards a busing policy on the part of the white citizens of Portland?

As we saw, prejudice did relate directly, although not perfectly, to white citizens attitudes towards neighborhood segregation. Prejudice also relates to white attitudes towards one of these two school policy perspectives. Almost twice the proportion of unprejudiced than prejudiced white citizens agree that it would be better for Negro children to go to schools that have more white pupils (38 to 20 per cent, respectively). The relationship between prejudice and the school busing policy is weak at best, and with these numbers of respondents—statistically insignificent.

As with prejudice and preferred racial residential housing patterns, prejudice—as measured by these two items on Negro-white native intelligence and morality—accounts for only small portion of the opposition to the instant school policy matters. (A longer, more reliable measure of prejudice would be warranted in any further studies to make more valid assessments of the extent of prejudice and the magnitude of its relationship to the foregoing and other policy attitudes). We shall now examine the impact of other kinds of "prejudices" as well as other factors that conceivably relate to these race-related school policy attitudes.

To what extent, if at all, are white attitudes towards residential segregation related to race-related school policy attitudes?

There is a clear-cut relationship in the Portland white sample between housing tolerance and approval of Negro children going to schools that have more white pupils. Three-quarters of those who are intolerant of Negroes living in white neighborhoods are intolerant of greater racial mixing in the schools whereas less than half of those who are tolerant about integrated neighborhoods are intolerant of additional school inte-

> We need to protest the notion that our integration into American life, so long delayed, must now proceed in an atmosphere of competitive scarcity instead of in the security of abundance which technology makes possible.
>
> Bayard Rustin, February, 1965

gration. Clearly, not everyone who is tolerant about interracial living patterns in the city are in favor of additional integration in the public schools—in fact, almost half are not. Yet, the two matters are not unrelated, as these findings indicate.

Attitudes towards additional integration in the public schools are in turn related to attitudes towards busing of children to remedy de facto school segregation. Although slightly less than a majority of those who in principle favor additional numbers of Negro children going to school with white children approve of a busing policy, the ratio of those who disapprove to those who approve of such a transportation policy among those who are opposed to Negro children going to schools with more white pupils is 15:1. While busing at the moment is not a favored policy on the part of white citizens, the attitude towards it is very much affected by the attitude towards the general question of de facto segregation.

Although these attitudes are interrelated such that tolerance of mixed neighborhoods relates to tolerance of additional mixing in schools, and additional mixing in schools is related to attitudes towards a busing policy, the over-all interrelationship is not simple. For example, tolerance of mixed neighborhoods has apparently only a slight relationship to attitudes towards the busing policy. In fact, if we ask whether the two are related when tolerance of mixed schools is taken into account (controlled) at the same time, the answer is negative. One of the implications of these findings is that if tolerance relative to mixed neighborhoods increased, it is not at all certain that a busing policy would be any more approved, but it is likely that such an increased tolerance would be associated with an increased tolerance of mixed schools. If more supportive attitudes towards a busing policy were desired, efforts might best be directed to that end and to increasing tolerance of more mixed schools. If more supportive attitudes towards mixed schools were desired, efforts might best be directed to that end and to increasing tolerance of mixed neighborhood living patterns.

Interpreting the causal flow between and among such attitudes is speculative at best in the absence of systematic natural experimental studies. It should be pointed out, however, that it is easy to fall into what might be termed a logical trap. Since de facto segregation is ordinarily pointed to as a function of segregated living patterns, we ordinarily ask, as we did above, what the relationship is between housing and neighborhood segregation attitudes and attitudes towards school segregation, implying the former as the cause of the latter. The fact that almost half of those approving mixed neighborhoods

> It is time to put an end to the tendency toward educational surrender on all but pre-school disadvantaged children.
>
> Frank Riessman,
> July, 1964

are opposed to more mixing in the schools, and the fact that one-quarter of those approving segregated neighborhoods actually approve more mixing in the schools should give us pause. (The absence of a perfect relationship, apart from measurement errors, etc., suggests that we might look at such other factors as whether respondents have children in school, which we will do below). In fact, we find that two-thirds of those who approve greater mixing of the races in public schools also approve mixed neighborhood living patterns, whereas less than 40 per cent of those who disapprove of the former approve of the latter.

The implication is that attitudes towards tolerance of school integration affect (cause; shape; influence) tolerance of bi-racial neighborhood patterns. It is not impossible that the cause and effect sequence flows in part in that direction. If so, a program directed to developing tolerance of more integrated public schools might have the effect of reducing resistances to more desegregated, open neighborhood living pat-

terns. The finding that atttudes in such matters are interrelated forces one to ask the question about what causes what, and to suggest that it is possible to think about breaking down what in many cities has become a circular avoidance of responsibility. School officials point to landlords and real estate people as those "basically" responsible, while the latter point to the demands by those who have been educated in the local public schools for housing in all-white areas as "basically" responsible for a current de facto school segregation situation. The findings in point relative to the interrelatedness of racial attitudes suggest that partial efforts by various groups in their own spheres of authority are not necessarily bound to be without impacts on attitudes in other spheres.

The present study affords an opportunity to explore some of the factors underlying, determining, or associated with school policy attitudes, with tolerance-intolerance relative to neighborhood racial patterns, and with prejudice itself. We shall first examine components of socio-economic status, or what might be referred to as indicators of social class position, as they may relate to the foregoing images and perspectives.

Does white citizen prejudice, intolerance, and/or school race-related policy attitude vary according to occupation, education, and/or income?

The data indicate that the concept of social class is not a particularly useful one in trying to understand white race-related images and attitudes in Portland. This is important to know in two regards. If social class groupings varied in identifiable ways, the tasks of reaching those especially resistant to possible policy changes would be easier than otherwise. Of perhaps even greater importance is the traditional community policy-making and policy-changing roles of upper social class groupings in many communities. Those from upper class positions most actively involved in community politics not only may find themselves receptive fellows as informal opinion leaders, but accomodating race relations attitudes on the part of whites in many communities have been most pronounced in this upper-middle to upper class segment that serves disproportionately in the community's active policy-making stratum.

If social (or socio-economic) class were a relevant concept in understanding white citizen attitudes and perspectives in regard to racial matters in Portland, the relationship of each of the three indicators—occupation, education, and income to race-related perspectives would tend to be similar. Whatever the socio-economic perquisites of particular class categories, and however open a social class system might be, the interrelatedness of such "class" characteristics might be expected to produce in Portland (as it has in many—but not all—other communities) a relatively clear-cut differentiation of class categories on racial matters. This does not happen, even though there are strong relationships in Portland as elsewhere between educational level, occupation, and income.

A category that in many other communities has been known to resist racial accomodation policies is the "working class," the unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled blue collar workers. We find that if we classify the white citizen respondents by their own or their spouse's occupation as blue collar, white collar (clerical, sales, etc.) or business and professional, blue collar workers are if anything slightly less prejudiced; somewhat more intolerant of mixed neighborhoods (50 per cent of the blue collar workers think Negroes ought to live by themselves, compared to 46 and 38 per cent of the white collar and business and professional people, respectively; insignificantly more opposed to and more uncertain about sending Negro children to schools with more white

> Deprivation is closely associated with discrimination. We cannot eliminate one and keep the other.
>
> Charles V. Willie, July, 1964

pupils, and no different than the other occupational categories on the busing policy.) White citizen attitudes towards Negroes on such matters as these cut across occupational lines.

As income goes up, the highest degree of prejudice goes down (as measured by our two item views of Negro intelligence and morality index), but the proportion of white citizens without any prejudice on our index remains almost constant. Income level makes almost no difference on tolerance of neighborhood integration; actually those making less than $4,000 per year are more in favor of neighborhood integration than any higher income category. There is a definite, strong negative relationship between income level and attitudes towards Negro children going to schools with more white pupils. Those who make less than $6,000 per year approve more than those who have higher incomes. In fact, the relatively small category of white citizens who make $10,000 per year or more are most opposed to that policy and, insignificantly, most opposed to a policy of busing even though that high income category produces the only noticeable, albeit very small, proportion of people who "strongly approve" a busing policy. Apparently it is not the poor whites of Portland who constitute, at the moment, the major centers of active resistance.

We asked also about income expectations ten years hence. There is a small proportion of white citizens who expect to be making less than at present (9 per cent of the sample). They are distinctly more opposed to Negro children going to school with more white pupils than are those who expect to have the same or more income ten years hence (63 per cent of the former are opposed to more school integration compared to 46 per cent of the latter). Although a majority of both categories disapproves the idea of a busing policy, twice the proportion of those who expect to have at least the same incomes ten years hence approve a busing policy than those who are pessimistic about their future incomes (21 to 11 per cent, respectively). These findings suggest that even the state of the economy, or personal pessimism-optimism, affects white citizen attitudes towards aspects of race relatons. (Future studies might find it desirable to explore this area further with larger numbers of respondents and additional batteries of questions. There is another finding that suggests that actual occupational mobility, apart from income expectations, relates to racial attitudes. The upwardly mobile—those who have better jobs now than they had in recent years—are actually more prejudiced, more intolerant of integrated neighborhoods, and more opposed to additional school integration than are either those with stable occupations or the downwardly mobile—a somewhat unexpected findings. That upwardly mobile group constitutes 13 per cent of the working force in our sample. White housewives are another interesting category. They are no less prejudiced nor tolerant than others in regard to neighborhood integration, but they are much more uncertain about—and less opposed to—having Negro children attend schools that have more white pupils. They are also more in favor of a busing policy as well as more uncertain about [rather than being as opposed to] that policy compared to the rest of the sample. Further research could clarify such relationships.)

Turning now to formal educational level, we find that the college educated white citizens are somewhat less prejudiced than the less well educated, but the differences are small. There is a much greater dif-

> Each year an estimated 100,000 young people of demonstrated ability fail to go on to college because of lack of money . . . Only one out of three young people from low-income families attend college compared with four out of five from high-income families.
>
> President Lyndon B. Johnson, January 13, 1965

ference in regard to attitudes towards mixing neighborhods. Fifty-seven per cent of those who have been to college for at least one year are in favor of mixing neighborhoods whereas 60 per cent of the white citizens who have stopped their education short of high school are in favor of segregated neighborhoods.

The respondents with at least some high school education (53 per cent of the sample) lean to segregation: 48 to 42 per cent, with 10 per cent uncertain. The more accomodating attitudes of the more highly educated white citizens do not extend, however, to school policy attitudes. The absence of an expected relationship here suggests a variety of questions about the efforts and effects of curricula at both the elementary and high school levels in regard to education about the Negro, about political democracy, and the like. This is not to suggest that in other cities those with comparable degrees of formal education are any more tolerant than in Portland. The results of research in other settings are not clear-cut, nor has there been very much research to establish the relationship between educational level on the one hand, and racial tolerance on the other. Long-range research might well inquire into the conditions under which carefully controlled programs of education about minority groups affect prejudice and intolerance of students, and into the conditions of family, peer group, and neighborhood attitudes towards racial and other minorities as these might effect the consequences of educational programs, etc.

Does white citizen prejudice, intolerance, and/or race-related school policy attitudes vary with age?

As age increases, prejudice by whites towards Negroes steadily increases. As age increases, intolerance by whites towards Negroes living in mixed neighborhoods remains constant, except among those 65 years of age and older who are slightly more intolerant than those younger. Relative to the question of having Negro children go to schools with more white pupils, there is no direct relationship between age and attitude. The very youngest adults and the elderly are both more in favor of more integrated schools than the middle-aged, with the elderly the most undecided of any age category. This is also the pattern with the busing policy attitude. On the latter item, those under 34 years of age have almost as many supporters of such a policy as the elderly, but they also contain the highest proportion of those who "strongly disapprove" of such a policy. These data indicate, at the very least, that any policy based on the assumption that over time the younger white citizens will prove to be considerably more tolerant than the older generation is on a very shaky foundation, indeed. Given the higher proportion of better educated people among the young than the old, the assumption that the newer generation is likely to be considerably more tolerant than their elders in regard to race related school policy is equally shaky, in the light of these findings and of those on education and racial attitudes, above. These findings lead us to a question as to whether race-related school policy attitudes are associated with having children in school or not.

(One of the few optimistic notes in the Newsweek—Harris poll of white attitudes towards Negroes, was their statement that "Young white Americans are turning out to be significantly less prejudiced than their grandfathers." We hope that our interpretation of their analysis is incorrect, but it seems that to strike that optimistic note they—purposefully?— omitted the findings on the "fathers" of those young white Americans. In a table, they report that the nationwide percentage of whites who believe that Negroes have less intelligence is 50 per cent. On that same page they report that "The stereotype that Negroes have less native intelligence commands support among 48 per cent of the elders but only 28 per cent of the younger group." The preceding sentence suggests that their elder category are those over the age of 50 while the

younger group contains those between 21 and 34 years of age. If this is the case, and in the light of their nationwide percentage of 50, it would appear that considerably more than 50 per cent of the whites between the ages of 35 and 49 years in the nation are prejudiced on this item. If this is the case, Portland is not as atypical as the *Newsweek's* interpretation might suggest in regard to the asserted difference between the young and the old. In fact, on the same prejudice index—based on the Negro native intelligence and morality items—we do find a small, linear relationship among the white citizens of Portland between age and prejudice.)

Does white citizen prejudice, intolerance, and/or race related school policy attitude vary by the school status of their children?

The white citizens with pre school age children (9 per cent of the sample) are the least prejudiced, equal to those with at least one child currently in grade or high school on tolerance of mixing Negro-white neighborhoods (slightly and insignificantly more tolerant than those without children or those with children beyond school age), considerably more in favor of Negro children going to school with more white pupils, than any other category, and much more in favor of a busing policy than any other category. In fact, the parents of pre-school age children are more approving of a busing policy than any other category on this factor or any other factor yet considered. They are the only category with an equal number of supporters and opponents of that policy, with the bulk undecided (30 per cent approved, 30 per cent disapproved, 40 per cent were undecided). The numbers of such people in the sample were so small that no great confidence can be given to that finding, but is appears that further investigation of that possibility is warranted. Whether there tend to be changes in racial attitudes when children enter school is something that may, or may not, occur.

The white respondents with at least one child in school were somewhat less prejudiced in their views of Negro intelligence and morality than those with no children or with children beyond school. They were no less tolerant of mixed neighborhoods than others. However, they were the least supportive of a policy of Negro children going to schools with more white pupils and they were more opposed to a busing policy than any of the other three categories. This suggests that the situation of one's children, whether in school currently or not, is related to such school policy attitudes. To pursue this further, we asked the following question:

Does white citizen prejudice, intolerance, and/or race-related school policy attitude vary by the fact or degree of integration in the schools attended by their children?

With the information as to what schools each white resident's children were attending, and with the ratio of Negro to white children in each of the Portland schools, it was possible to classify each respondent as having no children in public schools, having children in currently all-white public schools, or having children in integrated schools (the last category for some purposes sub-divided into schools that had less than 1 per cent Negro enrollment, between 1 and 5 per cent Negro enrollment, and over 5 per cent Negro enrollment). When a respondent had children in two or more schools with different proportions of Negroes enrolled, the higher proportion was used to classify the respondent. Although the number of respondents in the category of children in all-white public schools is very small (13 people), the findings are extremely interesting (they exclude parents with children in Catholic schools).

The white citizens with children in all-white schools are the most prejudiced, while those with children in integrated schools are somewhat less prejudiced than those with no children in school. The same pattern holds for tolerance in neighborhood

living patterns: 50 per cent of those respondents with children in integrated schools approve of mixed neighborhoods, compared to 43 and 31 per cent of respondents with no children in schools and respondents with children in currently all-white schools, respectively. The proportion of those favoring mixed neighborhoods rises from 51 to 55 per cent among those with children in schools with under 1 per cent Negro enrollment to those with from 1 to 5 per cent Negro enrollment. It drops off to 39 per cent for those respondents with children in schools with relatively heavy Negro enrollment (5 per cent or more), which is still a higher degree of tolerance than for the respondents with children in all-white schools.

The percentages of the total white sample in these categories are as follows: 61 per cent have no children in public schools currently; 4 per cent have children only in all-white schools; 13 per cent have children in schools with between 1 and 5 per cent Negro enrollment; and 6 per cent have children in schools with over 5 per cent Negro enrollment. Four per cent of the sample had children only in Catholic schools, and the status of 2 per cent of the sample was not ascertained.)

The pattern of white citizens with children in integrated public schools being more tolerant than either those with children in all-white schools or those without children in the schools (i.e., those without children, with pre-schoolers only, or with post-schoolers) holds only in part in regard to attitudes towards having Negro children go to school with more white pupils. The most tolerant on this policy are those without children currently in school, which is partly a function of the earlier mentioned tolerance of parents of pre-schoolers, and apparently a function of the greater tolerance in this regard on the part of people who are not involved personally in the issue (in the sense of not having children in school). However, those respondents with children in integrated schools are no less tolerant on the school integration policy matter than those whose children attended all-white schools; the former are actually somewhat less opposed, being more uncertain than are the latter.

> We now spend about $540 a year per child in our public schools. But we spend $1,800 a year to keep a delinquent youth in a detention home, $2,500 a year for a family on relief, $3,500 a year for a criminal in state prison.
>
> President Lyndon B. Johnson
> January 13, 1965

When we turn to the busing policy question, we find that the white citizens without children in school are the less disapproving, while those with children already in integrated schools are the most disapproving. To what extent the sentiments of the latter are due to a feeling that integration of the kind they already have might be accomplished through some other policy than busing or to a dislike of the possibility that the degree of integration in their own children's schools might be increased too much with such a policy, or to other factors, is unknown. (Further research might examine such questions, as well as finding out to what extent a larger sample of whites would or would not reveal the aforementioned kinds of patterns, and what the possible implications are of the differences, if real, between those whose children are attending integrated schools and those whose children are in all-white schools re: their racial-school attitudes. An oversampling in the areas most likely to produce cases of white parents with children in schools integrated to varying degrees might be most useful.) This analysis led to an even more suggestive set of findings regarding the possible effects of residential location and racial attitudes.

Is the degree of white citizen prejudice, tolerance, and/or race-related school policy attitude associated with the degree to which they are living in integrated neighborhoods?

The answer to this question is "yes." The patterns are interesting and deserve to be treated at length. First, however, the manner in which the underlying hypothesis was tested shall be described.

The closest that our data would permit an assessment of the degree of integration in the white respondent's neighborhoods was through the use of the 1960 census data on racial composition of dwelling units by blocks in the city of Portland. Since those data are three years old, our findings may be somewhat off, but since this is simply an exploratory analysis with but preliminary findings, we will ignore that possibility for the moment. When drawing the sample, the census tract and block numbers of each respondent were noted, making it possible to code each respondent as being in one of the following categories: living in a block with no Negroes; living in a block with less than 5 per cent of the dwelling units occupied by Negroes; living in a block with more than 5 per cent of the dwelling units occupied by Negroes. The distribution of the white and Negro population of Portland and the size of the sample made any finer categories too small for purposes of analysis. In our white sample we found that for those respondents for whom these block data were available 76 per cent were living on all-white blocks, 11 per cent were living in blocks with up to 5 per cent Negro occupancy, and 12 per cent were living in blocks with more than 5 per cent of the dwelling units occupied by Negroes. Of the total sample, 15 per cent were living in blocks outside of the city limits but within the Portland School District, and it is for these respondents that we do not have available the racial composition of blocks. They are treated as a separate category below.

Prejudice by whites towards Negroes is associated with the degree to which they are living in integrated neighborhoods in the following manner. The largest proportion of unprejudiced white citizens is found in the integrated blocks with less than 5 per cent Negroes. The next highest proportion is found in the blocks outside of the city, which also have the smallest proportion of the most prejudiced people. Then come the all-white blocks in the city, with the most heavily populated Negro blocks having the smallest proportion of unprejudiced whites.

The ranking is similar in regard to attitudes towards segregated versus integrated neighborhoods. The most intolerant respondents are living in the most integrated blocks, followed by the respondents in the all-white blocks, while the respondents living in sparsely integrated blocks are nearly identical to those living in the blocks outside of the city but within the school district—both categories having a majority of white citizens in favor of integrated neighborhoods.

The tolerance of the white respondents who live on lightly integrated blocks is maintained on the matter of school policy involving Negro children going to schools with more white pupils. The respondents from the outlying areas of the school district are less in favor of additional school integration than are those from either of the other categories. Those from the all-white blocks, those from the most heavily Negro blocks, and those from the outlying areas are in the majority against such a school policy. Even though there are only 30 respondents from the sparsely integrated blocks, given the numbers in the other categories, these findings could have occurred by chance less than once in a thousand times. (This means that the odds are greater than 1,000 to 1 that the finding is not due to a chance drawing of this particular set of respondents from the many sets than can be drawn when selecting a random sample).

Although statistically insignificant (i.e., the odds are such that it might best be regarded as possibly a finding peculiar to the sample drawn by chance), a similar pattern is found for school busing policy attitudes. The respondents from the blocks that

are integrated, although sparsely, are much more inclined to favor a school busing policy to accomplish a break-down of de facto school segregation than any other category. The ratio of opponents to supporters of busing is about 1½:1. Those from outside the city, those from blocks that have the heaviest Negro populations, and those from all-white blocks have the following ratios of opponents to supporters of school busing: 6½:1, 5½:1, and 4:1, respectively, in the same rank order in which they were opposed to additional desegregation in the schools (the previous item).

The tentative conclusion that we would draw from the foregoing findings is that, contrary to what many people would expect, the greatest degree of tolerance and support for racial accomodation school policies is in those areas where there is already a degree of residential integration. This is an unexpected finding to some degree because it is in such areas where the most vocal opposition is sometimes heard to both housing and school integration. What is intriguing about these findings is the possibility that to some unknown extent such tolerance may have developed after, or been reinforced by, integration of the neighborhood or block. If so, this would be supportive evidence for the proposition that social contacts can contribute to racial accomodation rather than cause racial strife. The Newsweek—Harris poll, affirms the proposition that social contacts decrease prejudice naturally, but their interpretation begs even more the kind of question that we must raise about our findings. This is the question as to whether the greater degree of racial tolerance on the part of whites in integrated neighborhoods is to some extent due to the more tolerant whites moving to, or remaining in, desegregated blocks whereas more intolerant whites remain in, or move to, all-white blocks or outlying areas which presumably have more all-white neighborhoods.

While the kinds of social contacts referred to in the Newsweek--Harris study are quite likely to have been shaped by such dynamics, we think that this is not as likely to be the case with residential living choices, particularly on the part of less advantaged, less well-educated people. To test this indirectly, we divided the respondents in each block category by their level of education and examined their attitudes on additional desegregation of the public schools. Not only were the college-educated more in favor of that policy than the highly educated in any other category, but so, too, were the high-school educated. While those among the highly educated who were tolerant might not have moved away after their blocks were desegregated or did not let desegregated blocks interfere with their decision to locate there as a matter of principle, we suspect that those with less than a college education were less likely to have acted on such principles.

> The real issue of civil rights is not the idea of discrimination in itself but the system that led to the discrimination. Such as the schools —the teaching in the schools. They don't teach the kids about the dignity of *all* men everwhere.
>
> Dizzy Gillespie, 1964

Such indirect tests are basically still conjectures. An alternative hypothesis that we cannot properly test because of inadequate numbers of respondents is that perhaps those living in sparsely integrated blocks are more of a renter group than those living in either the all-white blocks or the more outlying areas of the school district, and perhaps that is one of the reasons for the aforementioned findings. (The latter may also for the most part be living in all-white blocks, but we do not have the data to be sure.) We have found that white respondents who are renting (30 per cent of total sample) are slightly less prejudiced, more tolerant, more disposed to approve Negro children going to schools with more white pupils and even to support a busing policy than white citizens who are buying or already own their homes.

Whatever the actual reasons for the findings on the differential racial attitudes of white citizens according to their location in various kinds of racial or bi-racial environments, and however tentative such findings must be at this stage, they do point to the inadequacy of assuming without question that visible vocal resistances to residential integration are sufficient evidence that such integration automatically leads to a worse race relations situation. These findings also cast some doubt on the assumption that the attitudes of whites in heavily Negro, ghetto-type areas is the norm for whites in all integrated areas. To the extent that they may be valid, they even provide some further grounds for considering how the schools might assist in the process of reducing the proportion of all-white blocks in the district through a process of educating white pupils to be less resistant to bi-racial patterns and/or through policies designed to reduce the proportion of Negroes in the heavily Negro sections and blocks of the district. To the extent that the schools as part of their goal to educate for democratic citizenship were successful in reducing the proportion of heavily Negro blocks and schools, the effects might be two-fold: increasing white tolerance in the areas of reduced Negro concentrations, and increasing white tolerance in the newly integrated areas.

The impact of racial attitudes on residential location decisions and the impact of changing racial compositions of neighborhoods and blocks on the racial attitudes of white citizens in Portland might well be the subject of further research. It might be possible, for example, to assess the racial attitudes of white citizens living on blocks and in neighborhoods that have been desegregated since 1960, to assess the racial attitudes of those who moved into such areas after they were integrated, and then to compare them to the attitudes of white citizens living in all-white areas. It might also prove possible and illuminating to compare matched sets of Negro respondents who live in sparsely and heavily integrated areas of Portland on a variety of attitudinal items of interest. It would be useful to have a large sample of white citizens living in the outlying, more suburban parts of the Portland School District, as well as samples of citizens living in the suburbs and in other communities in adjacent school districts, in order to assess whether such populations are as intolerant as our inadequate data suggest.

A CONCLUDING NOTE

The findings reported herein must be regarded as tentative and preliminary, partly because of the numbers of respondents in the samples, particularly in the Negro sample, partly because of the limitation of the Negro sample to the specified census tracts, and partly because the survey was undertaken for other reasons. Nevertheless, confidence can be placed in one general finding, namely: the attitudes, perspectives and policy predispositions of the white and Negro citizens of Portland conflict at various points. Portland, as the nation as a whole, is manifesting the kinds of race relations problems and tensions that are rooted in vast social psychological distance between and two races. School policy-making, as with policy-making in regard to other matters that concern race relations, is better made to the extent that racial differences in attitudes and perspectives are understood and acknowledged rather than glossed over or denied. It is also important to discard our tendencies to conceive of the sentiments of a racial group, or of subcategories thereof, in the terms that a friend or acquaintance of the other race—whichever that may be—reports as his sentiments

> I sometimes think that the gulf between the people who have experienced humiliation as a people and those who have not is the deepest and most significant we have to face and that contemplation of it and awareness of its meaning is the chief essential for dealing with contemporary problems.
>
> A. J. Muste, February, 1965

or as the sentiments of the members of his racial category. Findings from even small random samples tend to be more reliable than findings from a few friends or informants. This does not mean that self-selected or elected representatives of racial groups or categories cannot adequately represent the policy attitudes or demands of their constituents. Nor does this mean that action must wait until reliable information has been collected on every point from selected samples. It does mean that whatever studies can be done systematically in the near future, and whatever experimental studies can be set up for longer term research, need to be carefully considered for the findings they may contain that bear on very difficult policy decisions. We trust that this report contains at least some such findings.

Our final word is one of caution to the effect that racial attitudes may change over time. This is particularly the case with policy matters that are race-related. How policies are developed, how they are communicated and in what terms, how much active support is given by even small numbers of policy supporters—these and other factors may all change considerably a set of policy attitudes over a given period of time. One might consider the desirability and feasibility of setting up a longer term mapping or measurement operation which could chart the shifts in, or stability of, race-related policy perspectives on the part of selected sets of citizens. Such an operation would provide Portland with the kind of data that few if any other cities possess in regard to the state and climate of race relations particularly in regard to school policy matters.

A PERSONAL POSTSCRIPT: MARCH, 1965

Almost one year and one half after the completion of the first study, printed above, it was possible to obtain in another connection re-interviews with two-thirds of both the Negro and white samples and interview 250 more Negro respondents drawn at random from the same Portland area. That study occurred after the passage of the Civil Rights Act by the Congress, just before the national presidential election for the white respondents, and just after that election and the issuance of the Committee on Race and Education's report to the Portland School Board. The latter report suggested a series of improvements for the predominantly Negro schools including an open enrollment plan, which at this time has become district policy, but no busing of masses of Negro students at public expense to end de facto school desegregation. To the surprise and dismay of many white civic leaders, the Portland chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. disapproved that plan —after our 1964 surveys—on the ground that it avoided such policies as drawing new attendance lines, closing down the worst almost all-Negro schools, and transporting Negro children to less predominantly Negro schools at public expense, which in their view would constitute the most effective and immediate attacks on de facto school segregation.

The results of the 1964 surveys confirm the results reported in the earlier study. Negro citizen attitudes as measured in the later, much larger sample were substantially identical to those of the earlier, much smaller sample. Even after the publication of the Committee's report and contrary to the reported decrease in support for school busing in the North as a whole (see above, p. 4), almost three-quarters of these Portland Negro respondents approved of a busing policy in the 1964 study. White opposition rose to a new high (towards 80 per cent disapproval).

The Negro revolt nationally as well as in Portland may have had some positive effects on the racial perspectives of white citizens. For example, our findings reveal that the proportion of whites viewing Negroes as the same as themselves on morality rose from 54 to 67 per cent from 1963 to 1964, respectively. Even more dramatically, the figure of 45 per cent

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of white citizens saying that Negroes ought to live in mixed Negro-white neighborhoods as of 1963 rose to 63 per cent in 1964.

The local educational turmoil over de facto school segregation policy may have had some other impacts in Portland on the policy perspectives of both whites and Negroes. There was a small but noticeable increase in uncertainty ("don't know") on the part of whites by 1964 who had earlier in the 1963 study disagreed with the proposition that it would be better for Negro children to go to schools that have more white pupils. Negro citizens, for reasons that are not clear but perhaps have to do with the complexity of the political issue over school policy, similarly evidenced an increase in uncertainty and disapproval of that general notion.

In any event, and in summary, the 1964 survey underlined the policy gulf over school desegregation-improvement policies between the white and Negro communities in Portland, Oregon, particularly over the issue of transportation out of the ghetto. That policy preference has not become something that Negro citizens (and a few white groups) have been willing to trade for model schools inside the ghetto nor something that the school authorities have been willing to institute on a mass basis at public expense. Sooner, rather than later, we would hope, the schools might join with other community institutions in a direct, massive destruction of de facto segregation in various areas of Portland life rather than cling to a principle that racial integration in schools or wherever is not a vital part of the process of education itself. At the same time that a policy deadlock seems to have occurred in the school area, our findings suggest that the white citizens of the city have gained increasing respect and some additional tolerance for Negroes as fellow citizens and potential neighbors, perhaps making it more likely that the defacto school segregation issue can be resolved more quickly than it otherwise might be.

> Do not mistake the child for his symptom.
>
> Erik H. Erikson, 1963

THE TRACK SYSTEM IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

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On February 4, 1965, the school board of the District of Columbia conducted a public hearing on the high school track system. Following is the text of a statement presented to the school board. The next issue of Integrated Education *will contain texts of several other, shorter statements. [For background, see Carl F. Hansen, "A Defense of the Track System," Integrated Education, June-July, 1964, pp. 48-49.]*

In this article four points will be developed and their implications discussed. 1. Intelligence tests of any kind, group or individual, have been thoroughly discredited as measures of innate ability, mental capacity, mental ability, or limitations in intellectual functioning. It is therefore considered bad educational practice to use I.Q. scores to explain or justify